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MONDAY, JANUARY 19, 1931

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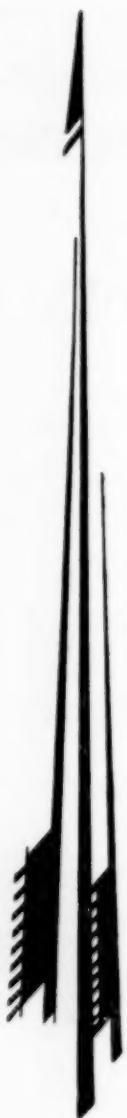
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HUMAN ELEMENTS IN VITRUVIUS, DE ARCHITECTURA¹

Sometime within the period when Livy was publishing his History, when Horace was busy at the last of his Epistulae and his Carmina, when Ovid was beginning to write on amorous themes, when Augustus was settling troublesome matters in the Rhine country, Vitruvius, ugly, ill, old², wrote his *De Architectura*³, the only extant ancient treatise of importance that deals with architecture.

Various writers of hand-books on Latin literature have taken a fling—unjustly—at Vitruvius's style. A writer of a text-book on architecture to-day would, we may be certain, avoid the digressions and the extraneous matter that are found in Vitruvius. There is a naïveté in the manner in which he tells a story, touches on literature or philosophy, or, as he discusses buildings, building materials, decorations, water-supply, water-clocks, and machinery, gives the reader advice.

Vitruvius has consciously mentioned personages and parts of the human body, sometimes to relieve the monotony of a naturally dry subject, sometimes to show man's relationship to the structures and the projects which he is himself explaining. One cannot treat adequately the story of man's habitation, his temples, his food, and his water-supply without considering the man who is to use them. If we add to these references the incidental remarks regarding man—those which we could omit without impairing the treatment from the point of view of architecture, we find an interesting collection. I shall cite some of these passages to show how and for what purpose Vitruvius brings human beings into his account.

Vitruvius maintains (1.1.1-18) that those who aspire to be architects of merit should be acquainted with many departments of learning—drawing, geometry, history, philosophy, music, medicine, law, astronomy, arithmetic, physics, philology.

An architect, he says, can not be a specialist in all these fields of learning, but a general knowledge in a great variety of subjects is most desirable for him. Drawing and geometry are necessary that the architect may be able to exhibit in pictorial form architectural plans according to scale. How can the architect design buildings and statues if he does not know history? Can he, without a knowledge of history, employ the Caryatides as a decorative ornament? Philosophy will temper his professional career; it will teach him fairness, justice, and high-mindedness of purpose, and will help him to be *sine avaritia, quod est*

maximum. Philosophy treats physics also. A knowledge of music is helpful to those who are tuning up strings on the opposite ends of *ballistae*, *catapultae*, and other hurling machines, that, when they shall be discharged, the action of all shall be simultaneous. In theaters bronze vessels made and installed according to the principles of musical harmony act as amplifiers. An architect who has some knowledge of medicine most effectively takes into consideration healthful sites, sources of pure water, methods of drainage, and illumination of rooms. Arithmetic and law aid him in making estimates and contracts. Without a study of astronomy he will not be able to deal with the theory and the practice of erecting sundials.

Since the study of architecture is so extensive, one should begin the study at an early age if he wishes to arrive *ad summum templum architecturæ* (1.1.11).

Vitruvius employs some similes in which the likeness has to do with the human body or its functions. To gain an audience with Alexander, Dinocrates⁴, an architect, entered the tribunal practically nude. His body was anointed with oil, a wreath of leaves was on his head, a lion's skin on his left shoulder, and a club in his right hand. Alexander inquired who he was. Dinocrates stated that he was a Macedonian architect who had a scheme by which he could shape Mt. Athos into the form of a man in whose left hand were to be represented the walls of a mighty city, and in the right a bowl which was to receive the water coming from the mountain (from the bowl the water was to flow into the sea). Alexander, delighted, asked him if the fields in the vicinity of the mountain would produce grain. Since Dinocrates's reply was in the negative, Alexander declared that it was no spot on which to found a city⁵.

A long and unusual simile in Book 2 (2.9.1) deals, in part, with the selection of timber for building material. Trees should be cut, says Vitruvius, during a period extending from early autumn to a time before the spring breezes begin to blow. Trees become pregnant in the springtime; their strength is expended then in leaf-making and in the production of fruit. Hence the trees become worthless and swollen, so that they are weak and lack strength. In this way trees resemble bodies of women who have conceived and are not judged healthy until the birth of the child. Pregnant slave women, for example, when sold are not considered sound of body, because, as the foetus increases in size, it draws nourishment from the mother, so that, the stronger the foetus becomes, the less solid is the body which furnishes the nourishment. However, after the child is born, the mother's body becomes firmly knit again and returns to its former strength.

¹References in this paper to Vitruvius are to F. Krohn, *Vitruvius, De Architectura Libri Decem* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1912).

²Book 2, Introduction, 4.

³J. W. Duff, *A Literary History of Rome From the Origins to the Close of the Augustan Age*, 634 (London, Unwin, 1909) gives reasons for placing the date of the composition about 14 B. C.

⁴<There is no note 4. C. K. >

⁵See the article *Dinocrates* (6) in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 4, 2392-2393.

⁶Book 2, Introduction, 1-3.

Architects should note carefully that the construction of temples depends on symmetry, which means provision for giving proper proportions; without this symmetry no temple can have unity of composition, such precise relation of parts to one another as we find in well-shaped members of the human body⁷.

Light.—According to Vitruvius certain exposures were desirable for rooms designed for specific purposes. Winter dining-rooms and bathrooms should face the West, because from this direction comes the warm light most needed in the evening. Bedrooms and libraries should face the East, since their uses require the morning light. Dining-rooms for the spring and the autumn should have an eastern exposure, for the sun, as it moves westward, furnishes them with proper temperature during the hours in which they are likely to be occupied. Summer dining-rooms should face the North, since they are not then exposed to the burning rays of the sun; these rooms are, therefore, cool, healthful, enjoyable⁸. After a general statement that windows should be provided, Vitruvius adds that windows should open on passageways and stairways because without such windows persons carrying burdens on passageways or stairways are likely to run into one another⁹.

Fire and Heat.—Materials to be used and methods of constructing private dwellings are discussed in Book 2. Before Vitruvius introduces the more technical description, he gives a short account of man's discovery of fire, the results of this discovery, and the various types of dwellings erected by primitive peoples. Early men lived much like wild beasts, in the woods, and ate simple foods. Fire was caused by the rubbing together of branches of adjoining trees¹⁰. Those who beheld such fire were frightened at first, but, when they felt its warmth, they added wood to the flames, and by beckoning, for there was as yet no speech, summoned others to point out to them their discovery. In subsequent gatherings about the fire men began to formulate words; in this way language was developed. Consequently to the discovery of fire we can trace the origin of assemblies and of social intercourse. Thus man found that he was different from animals and that he could do things with his hands to make his existence more comfortable. Men began to seek shelter, some by digging caves, some by using branches and habitations fashioned after the nests of birds. Later, there came better types of dwellings, better constructed, and made of more durable materials.

Before Vitruvius deals directly with the various types of houses and arrangement of rooms, he makes some bizarre remarks about the effect of climate on man. Although men have everywhere essentially the same form and make-up, the quality of men's voices depends on climatic conditions; in a warm country the pitch of the voice is high or shrill, but in a moist climate the quality of the voice is heavy or deep. Again, those who live in the tropics, since their minds are made active by the heat, are quickly stirred to think out plans. Northern peoples, influenced by the density of the atmosphere and made cold by the humidity, have minds slow to act. In bravery the peoples of the

South fail, because the excessive heat of the sun saps their courage; those of the North go to arms without fear, and from slowness of mind rush at things without proper consideration, and in this way defeat their own purposes. Vitruvius takes advantage of these statements to remark that the Roman people possesses the best site on the surface of the earth, since it is situated in a temperate climate between the North and the South. Hence the people in Italy takes on the temperate character of both extremes—a mental and a physical vigor by which it has held at bay the peoples to the North and to the South. Vitruvius easily goes on to assert that a divine intelligence (*divina mens*) set the Roman people in this unique region, to allow it to become the ruling power of the world. The Romans, with all their knowledge of different races, must, he says, show the type of habitation best suited to each¹¹.

Sight.—Vitruvius often urges that buildings, especially temples, shall be constructed with certain corrections which will, by optical illusion, produce a pleasing effect on the eye. A building properly designed will be in conformity with surrounding conditions. A different impression is created according as one views a building from a point close at hand, from a height, from an enclosed area, or from the open. The eye seems not to transmit a true impression, and so the mind is frequently deceived in its judgment. In painted scenery various objects seem to stand out in the foreground, though in fact the whole picture is on a flat surface. Since the conditions give a false impression and are in fact other than they appear to the eye, some adjustment should be made. This will depend on the site, but it must be made in such a way that the building itself shall not suffer loss¹².

Agatharcus at Athens painted a scene and left a commentary concerning it. Taking a hint from him, Democritus and Anaxagoras, writing on the same subject, showed that in a flat painted scene one can produce the appearance of foreground and background by choosing a point of sight and making all lines, if extended, pass through this point¹³. This, I believe, is the first element in perspective drawing.

Vitruvius states also that attention should be given to the type of columns used in a temple, that the temple as a whole may be pleasing to the eye. The proper size of columns depends on the intervals between columns. The farther apart the columns are, the thicker their shafts should be. Columns at the corners should be made thicker by a fiftieth of the diameter, because from their prominent and open position they seem smaller than they really are! Ergo quod oculos fallit ratiocinatione est exaequandum. Again, columns should be smaller at the top than at the base; the difference is to be calculated according to the thickness of the lowest part and the height. Besides, on account of the distances traversed by the eye, there should be a slight enlargement near the middle of the column (this the Greeks call *επρασις*). Without these proper proportions to correct ocular deceptions, columns would appear clumsy and without charm¹⁴.

⁷3.1.1. ⁸6.4.1-2. 7. ⁹6.6.7.

¹⁰3.1.1-3. See also Lucretius, 1.897-906, 5.925-927, 1091-1105.

¹¹6.1.8-12. ¹²6.3.2-4. ¹³Book 7, Introduction, 11.

¹⁴3.3.9, 11-13.

Voice.—A few references to the acoustic properties of buildings involve the speaker and the listener. In Book 1 Vitruvius claims that among other accomplishments an architect should understand the principles of sound, since in theaters bronze vessels¹⁵ are to be installed in specially provided places under the seats, vessels so arranged in accordance with the mathematics of musical intervals that, when an actor's voice synchronizes with any jar, the sound of his voice shall come to the audience with greater clearness and sweetness¹⁶. If any one says there are theaters at Rome without this amplifying device, Vitruvius will remind him that the public theaters are made of wood, which in itself has resonance. When one is singing to the accompaniment of a lyre and wishes to strike a high note, he will turn toward the doors on the stage, which will aid him by their resonance¹⁷.

A place should be selected for a theater where the voice is not thrown back in such a way as to prevent the ear from catching distinctly what is said. Some places by their very nature impede the movements of the voice, namely, *loci resonantes, circumsonantes, resonantes*. *Loci resonantes* are places where the voice, if carried upward, strikes a solid substance and is deflected downward in time to make a jumble of the words spoken immediately afterward. *Loci circumsonantes* are places where the sound of the voice, spreading in all directions, is forced toward a central point and is then dissipated, so that the auditor can not catch word-endings and get the proper sense. *Loci resonantes* cause the sound of the voice to rebound when the voice strikes a solid substance; from the echo double case-endings are then heard. *Loci consonantes*, however, force the sound upward with an increased volume and bring the words to the ear with clarity¹⁸.

The height of some buildings, the senate-house for example, is great. Therefore the voice, carried aloft, would naturally be dissipated and so would not be intelligible to an audience. To obviate this, the wall about halfway up should be encircled by a cornice. By this means the voice is thrown down before it can be dissipated in the upper air, and it returns intelligible to the auditors¹⁹.

The cross-aisles between tiers of seats in the theater (*praecinctiones*) should be in fixed proportion to the height of the theater. The walls behind them should not be higher than the breadth of the cross-aisles; for, if they are higher, they drive back the voice from the higher portion; hence the case-endings of words do not strike with accuracy the ears of those who are seated above the cross-aisles. Seats should be so arranged that a line drawn from the lowest to the highest seat will touch the upper edges of all the seats. In this way the voice will not be obstructed. One must take care not to select a 'deaf place' (*locus surdus*); he must select a place where no echo blocks the course of the voice. The voice is a flowing breath of air perceptible by contact with the ear. It moves in circular fashion. The voice not only extends itself in a plane but also

rises gradually to a height. Therefore, when there is no echo, the spoken word reaches the ears of all, whether they are seated far up or low down in the theater²⁰.

The Body.—The story of Hiero and Archimedes in Book 9, Introduction, 9-12, describes the discovery of the principle of displacement. Hiero, who had conquered Syracuse, wanted to set a gold crown on one of its temples as an offering. He weighed out an amount of gold and turned it over to a workman, who made the crown. Afterwards, when some one hinted that the gold had not all been used in the crown, Hiero summoned Archimedes to investigate the matter. One day, as Archimedes was stepping into a bath, he noticed that a certain amount of water flowed over the edge of the tub; this gave him an idea which caused him to run home crying *Eureka*. Thereupon, taking masses of gold and silver equal in weight to the crown, he alternately submerged them in the water and measured the water displaced. After he found there was greater displacement in the case of the silver, he repeated the experiment with the crown and found a greater displacement than with the mass of gold, thereby proving that the crown did not contain all the gold handed over to the workman.

Vitruvius tells an interesting story concerning the origin of the Corinthian column. After the death and the burial of a young Corinthian maiden, her nurse put in a basket trinkets of which the girl had been fond, placed the basket on her tomb, and covered it with a tile. In the spring the acanthus root which was covered by the basket began to push forth and to cover the basket with leaves which took the form of volutes. Callimachus²¹, who was famous for his skill in marble work, chancing to pass by, noticed the charming effect of the basket and of the leaves growing around it, and built columns for the Corinthians after the slender proportions of a maiden, adding a capital known as the Corinthian Capital²².

To the construction of perfect and pleasing temples symmetry and proportion are fundamental. All parts must have their proper relation to one another, as in a well-formed man there is a fixed relationship of the members. Some of the measurements Vitruvius gives are the following. Nature has so made the body of man that the length of his face from the chin to the top of his forehead and the lowest roots of the hair is one-tenth of his entire height; so too is the length of the open hand from the wrist to the end of the middle finger. In the same way a temple should gain the appearance of symmetry from the harmony the various parts bear to one another.

Vitruvius adds that the fundamental standards of measurement, *digitus, palmus*²³, *pes, cubitus*, are taken from the human body. They are arranged so as to form the perfect number (*perfectus numerus*), which was considered by the ancients to be ten (the number ten was taken from that of the fingers). The mathematicians held that six was the perfect number, since the foot is one-sixth of a man's height. Moreover, they ob-

¹⁵5.5.8. ¹⁶1.1.9; 5.5.1-6. ¹⁷5.5.7.
¹⁸5.8.1-2. ¹⁹5.2.2.

²⁰5.3.4-7. ²¹Pausanias 1.26.7; Pliny, Historia Naturalis 34.92.
²²Ch. Chipiez, Histoire Critique des Origines et de la Formation des Ordres Grecs, 306-321 (Paris, 1876). ²³2.3.3.

served that the cubit consisted of six palms, or twenty-four fingers²⁴.

At loss how to work out the symmetry of a column which would be pleasing to the eye and at the same time capable of sustaining the weight to be placed upon it, the Dorians measured the foot of man and compared it to his height. They discovered that the measurement of the foot was one-sixth of man's height. Applying this principle to the column, they made the height of the shaft (including the capital) six times its diameter at the base. The Doric column thus presented the proportions, the strength, and the grace of a man.

A new style of beauty was desired when a temple to Diana was to be constructed. The builders made the height of the column eight times the diameter of its base in order to make the column taller and to give it the appearance of womanly slenderness. They placed the shaft on a base which represented the shoe; on the capital to the right and the left they placed volutes, representing curly ringlets; *cymatia* and festoons of fruit (*encarpa*) portrayed the hair; the flutings represented the folds of a matron's robes. The Doric column represents manly beauty without ornamentation; the Ionic represents delicacy, adornment, and proportions characteristic of women²⁵.

The ancient Greeks, Vitruvius says, often received victors from the Olympic games in triumphal procession, and some of the athletes enjoyed incomes for life from the public treasury. Why, he asks, are not the same, yes, even greater, honors given to writers who perform inestimable service to all peoples for all time? Athletes make only their own bodies stronger by exercise, whereas writers develop not only their own minds but also the intellect of all by preserving knowledge from which others derive benefit. What does it matter if Milo, of Croton, was an athlete par excellence? He was famous only in his heyday. Pythagoras, Democritus, Plato, and Aristotle, by constant industry in study, produced results of advantage not only to the people of their time but also to those of all time to come. The men who render real service are those who are immersed from their earliest days in study from which the State can derive a better sense of justice and laws without which no State can be secure. Because benefits to individuals and to States come from works of learned men, Vitruvius believes that to scholars should be given the palms and the crowns of victory. The investigations of these men tend not only to improve morals, but are of everlasting usefulness for all²⁶.

(To be concluded)

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EARL LEV. CRUM

A RUSSIAN LUSTRATIO

The old Roman religious ceremony of the *lustratio*, the ceremonial purifying of the fields, as described in some detail in Cato, *De Agricultura* 141¹, finds a modern counterpart in a religious rite still practised

¹Book 9, Introduction, 1, 2, 15.
²See Eli E. Burris, *The Religious Life on a Roman Farm as Reflected in the De Agricultura of Marcus Porcius Cato*, in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 21, 27-30, especially 28-29.

a few years ago among the Russian peasants. The age-old custom, as observed during the summer of 1917 at a village near the Vladimir Hills in central European Russia, is pictured in a vivid style by Albert Rhys Williams, in his book, *The Russian Land*, 92-105 (New York, New Republic, Inc., 1928). I reproduce here part of pages 94-98.

On the morning of the ceremony the procession, made up of men, women, and children carrying banners, ikons, and other religious symbols and led by the village priest,

moves through the gates of the village and skirts the edges of the meadows.... For against these fields is camped an enemy, a ravaging, pillaging enemy. From all sides, creeping forward, flying the air, mining the earth, striking with fang and tooth and claw—armies of worms, hosts of caterpillars². That is why we go forth with banners to battle the insects. Around these fields to-day we are to draw a magic circle³. With cross and candle, prayer and holy water we are to build a barrier against ant and mouse and caterpillar. They shall not pass!

"Let the earth blest by Thee bring forth fruit in its time. Allow not upon it any vermin, insect, rust, burning heat or withering wind bringing destruction . . .", chants the priest.

Deliver us from our enemies!
Have mercy upon us,
Holy Tryphon, pray for us!

respond the people....

Four versts and we halt just where a brook, white with water-lilies, pours its heavy incense on the meadows. With faces and ikons looking on the altar-cross in the center, the people range in a circle and the service begins. It is a comprehensive service. First, general praise to the heavenly powers. Second, general exhortation to the people. Then it becomes specific. It calls up the third party, the cause of this procession. Their names are all written in the book. And the priest calls them out, naming them by name:

Worms and grasshoppers!
Mice and rats!
Ants, moles and reptiles!
Flies and horseflies and hornets!
And all flying things that wreak
Destruction....

he cries in a loud voice,

"I forbid you in the name of the Savior come on earth to suffer for men. I forbid you in the name of the all-seeing cherubim and seraphim who fly around the heavenly throne, I forbid you in the name of the angels and the millions of heavenly spirits standing in the glory of God. I forbid you to touch any tree, fruitful or unfruitful, or leaf or plant or flower. I forbid you to bring any woe upon the fields of this people!"⁴

And the priest, dipping the *hyssop* (the long brush) in the water, raises it above his head and flings it until the drops fall a tiny shower upon the field, to the North, the South, the East and the West, and upon the heads of the people singing:

Pray for us, Saint Tryphon!
Saint Tryphon got the martyr's crown and died for
Jesus.
Holy Tryphon, pray for us!

One incident in the course of the morning's ceremony reminds one strikingly of the Roman principle of rigid

<²There is no verb in Mr. Williams's sentence. C. K.>

<³For the magic circle see an article entitled *Magical Circles as Barriers to Snakes*, by Eugene S. McCartney, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 22, 175-176. C. K.>

<⁴Mr. Williams does not use quotation-marks about these passages; that they are in fact quotations he indicates by specially indenting the lines. Except in this one respect the 'solid' passages in the text reproduce exactly Mr. Williams's words, with all their merits, oddities, and faults. C. K.>

adherence to form in the carrying out of a religious rite. A certain long strip of wheat-bearing land, jutting out from the main fields, was known to be moderately free from the ravages of worms and vermin; consequently the suggestion was made, and heartily welcomed by most of the wearied marchers, that the procession take a short cut across the field instead of the much longer way around it. On page 102 we read:

Only one, an old *baba*, objects. To her the point of the ceremony is its exact and precise performance. In this lies its efficacy. No short cuts in the ritual, no short cuts in the marching. But she is overruled. Even the priest, perspiring under his heavy robe, is against her. And, moving forward, we are soon waist-deep in the waving sea of wheat, the priest atoning for his slight irregularity by vigorously flinging far out upon the uncircumscribed field generous portions of the holy water.

The Saint Tryphon mentioned above was (98-99) a martyr of Asia Minor, who, according to the chronicles, 'The son of a poor peasant, from babyhood loved the Almighty and under the Roman Empire suffered death by steel and fire . . . in the third century he delivered his land from the plague of worms and insects, the destroyers leaving forthwith at his command'.

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JOHN W. SPAETH, JR.

HORACE WALPOLE IN ITALY

Horace Walpole went to Italy in November, 1739, and remained there until the summer of 1741. Apparently, like the pilgrims of 1930, he took his Vergil with him. He discusses Book 2 of the Georgics in a letter¹ written to his friend Richard West. This letter is dated "from Bologna, 1739". Walpole says:

'Tis, that I have observed that he not only excels when he is like himself, but even when he is very like inferior poets: you will say that they rather excel by being like him: but mind, they are all near one another:

<461-472> Si non ingentem foribus domus alta superbis
Mane salutantem totis vomit aedibus
undam:

And the next four lines; are they not just like Martial? In the following he is as much Claudian:

<495-497> Illum non populi fasces, non purpura
regum
Flexit, et infidos agitans discordia
frates:
Aut conjurato descendens Dacus ab Is-
tro.

Then who are these like?

<501-506> nec ferrea jura,
Insanumque forum, aut populi tabularia
vidit.
Sollicitant alii remis freta caeca, ruunt
que
In ferrum, penetrant aulas et limina
regum.
Hic petit excidiis urbem miserosque pe-
nates,
Ut gemma bibat, et Serrano indormiat
ostro.

Don't they seem to be Juvenal's?—There are some more, which to me resemble Horace; but perhaps I think so from his having some on a parallel subject. Tell me if I am mistaken; these are they:

¹Walpole's letters were edited, in sixteen volumes, by Paget Toynbee (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1903). The passages cited in this paper may be found in Volume 1 of this edition.

<523-524> Interea dulces pendent circum oscula
nati:
Casta pudicitiam servat domus—
inclusively to the end of these:

<532-534> Hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini;
Hanc Remus et frater: sic fortis Etruria
crevit,
Scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima
Roma.

If the imagination is whimsical; why, at least, 'tis like me to have imagined it.

The relation between this part of the Georgics and Gray's Elegy has been discussed, by Professor D. L. Drew, in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 19.109-111, in a paper entitled Gray's Elegy and the Classics. It is interesting to remember that Gray was the intimate friend of Walpole and West and was traveling with Walpole through Italy at this time.

Walpole came to Rome on March 26, 1740. He wrote at once to West: "The Cassian and Flaminian ways were terrible disappointments; not one Rome² tomb left; their very ruins ruined". On April 16 he writes again, referring to "the temple of Minerva Medica", and imagines

. . . what a villa might be laid out there . . . Some of the walks would terminate upon the Castellum Aquae Martiae, St. John Lateran, and St. Maria Maggiore, besides other churches; the walls of the garden would be two aqueducts and the entrance through one of the old gates of Rome. This glorious spot is neglected, and only serves for a small vineyard and a kitchen-garden. He continues:

I am very glad to see Rome while it yet exists; before a great number of years are elapsed, I question whether it will be worth seeing. Between the ignorance and poverty of the present Romans, everything is neglected and falling to decay . . .

He went to Naples, and there, on June 14, wrote to West of seeing the excavations at Herculaneum.

. . . Have you ever heard of a subterraneous town? a whole Roman town, with all its edifices, remaining underground? . . . You remember in Titus's time there were several cities destroyed by an eruption of Vesuvius, attended by an earthquake. Well, this was one of them, not very considerable, and then called Herculaneum . . .

He describes the excavations as he saw them, and continues:

There might certainly be collected great light from this reservoir of antiquities, if a man of learning had the inspection of it; if he directed the working and would make a journal of the discoveries. But I believe there is no judicious choice made of directors. There is nothing of the kind known in the world; I mean a Roman city entire of that age, and that has not been corrupted with modern repairs. Besides scrutinizing this very carefully, I should be inclined to search for the other towns that were partners with this in the general ruin. This was written before excavations were attempted at Pompeii. Systematic work was begun there on March 30, 1748. Walpole closes this letter with a quotation from Statius, Silvae 4.4.78-84, suggested by Gray, "which directly pictures out this latent city".

Gray was reading Livy and Silius Italicus as they travelled through the Alps. This he tells West in a letter from Turin, dated November 16. His first im-

²"Rome" is here an adjective.

pression of Rome seems not to tally with that of Walpole, quoted above. He writes to his mother on April 2:

... As high as my expectation was raised, I confess the magnificence of this city infinitely surpasses it. You cannot pass along a street but you have views of some palace, or church, or square, or fountain, the most picturesque and noble one can imagine.

He writes to his mother from Naples, on June 17, and, after describing their journey, says:

... We spent two days in visiting the remarkable places in the country round it, such as the Bay of Baiae, and its remains of antiquity; the lake Avernus and the Solfatara, Charon's grotto, etc. We have been in the Sybil's cave and many other strange holes underground. ... but the strangest hole I ever was in, has been today at a place called Portici, where his Sicilian majesty has a country-seat.

He then describes their tour of the excavations very much as does Walpole in the letter referred to above.

Walpole writes from Florence, on September 25, 1740, to the Hon. H. S. Conway, of the trial they made of the Sortes Vergilianae¹. To his description of Lady Mary Wortley, whom he detested, he appends this passage:

... In three words I will give you her picture, as we drew it in the *Sortes Vergilianae*—

Insanam vatem aspicias.

I give you my honour, we did not choose it; but Mr. Gray, Mr. Cooke, Sir Francis Dashwood, and I, and several others, drew it fairly amongst a thousand for different people, most of which did not hit as you may imagine....

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THE AWFUL INFLUENCE OF DECLAMATION ON SILVER LATIN POETRY!

Perhaps the most generally condemned passage in the writings of Seneca the philosopher is *Phaedra* 1256-1269 (I give Leo's text):

Disiecta, genitor, membra laceri corporis
in ordinem dispone, et errantes loco
restitue partes. Fortis hic dexterae locus,
hic laeva frenis docta moderandis manus
ponenda. Laevi lateris agnosco notas.

Hoc quid est forma carens
et turpe, multo vulnere abruptum undique?
Quae pars tui sit dubito, sed pars est tui.
Hic, hic repone, non suo, at vacuo loco.

This passage is condemned not only as bad *per se*, but also as typical of Seneca, of a taste vitiated by the false rhetoric of the schools of declamation. For example, Professor J. W. Duff, *A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age*, 260 (London, 1927¹), speaks of "the account, too ludicrous to be pathetic, of the piecing together of the mutilated remains of Hippolytus as if they were a jigsaw puzzle..."

This is all very well, but the critics should have noticed that this typical flower of Silver Latin is taken direct from Euripides's *Bacchae*. The part of the

¹For the *Sortes Vergilianae* see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 21. 185-189. C. K. >

²For this book see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 23.44-46. C. K. >

Greek play which Seneca reproduced has, indeed, perished, through mutilation of the sole surviving manuscript, but the gist of the passage is given by Apsines (in Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*, 1.401). Speaking of rhetorical methods of arousing pity, Apsines says: ἔκαστος... τῶν μελῶν ἡ μῆτρα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ κρατοῦσα, καθ' ἔκαστον αὐτῶν οἰκτίζεται. Clearly the passage was not only well known but was admired, and not only admired, but quoted as a model. Not only was it a model in literature, but it was an inspiration in art, if we may trust the sophist Philostratus (*ca. 230 A. D.*), *Eikones* 18: συναρμόττουσιν οἱ προσήκοντες τὸν νερόν. This is part of the description of a picture, though it has been suspected that Philostratus's picture-gallery was imaginary.

We may deplore Greek lack of taste, but we must face the fact that the passage in Euripides was admired for 700 years by the leaders of Greek education. Clearly the decadence of Roman poetry is not entirely to blame: if Seneca sinned, he sinned in good company. It is a case of a dog with a bad name.

Mr. Duff goes on (260) to ridicule the words of the ghost of Thyestes, which refer to the famous banquet (Seneca, *Agamemnon* 26-27): a fratre vincar, liberis plenus tribus in me sepultis. Here again we may stigmatize the bad taste of Seneca, but we should not fail to note that this idea too was a commonplace of Greek rhetoric, invented by the father of rhetoric, Gorgias: γάπτες, θυμψυχοι τάφοι. The idea was, apparently, not taken up by classical Greek writers, but in Latin Seneca had a distinguished line of authorities, among them Ennius, *Annales* 142 (said of a vulture) crudeli condebat membra sepulcro, Accius 226 (Ribbeck) natis sepulcro ipse est parens, Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 6.665 se... vocat Tereus bustum miserae natii. For the Christian (Greek) Fathers (trained rhetoricians, for the most part) see Lightfoot's note on Ignatius, *Ad Romanos*, Chapter 4 (a remarkably interesting passage). For English poetry see Spenser, *Faery Queene* 2.8.16 to be entombed in the raven or the kight; Shakespeare, *Macbeth* 4.4.72; Pope, *Essay on Man* 3.162 of half that live the butcher and the tomb².

A similar state of affairs exists in connection with the much ridiculed lines of Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 4.504-505, spoken by Cadmus in the process of changing into a snake: me tange manumque accipe dum manus est. This may be bad—remember that Ovid had some 220 metamorphoses to describe, so that an occasional lapse from taste would in any case be pardonable—but compared with its source, again Euripides (Fragment, 450 Dindorf), οἷμοι, δράκων μον γύγνεται τὸ γ' θημόν. τέκνον, περιπλάκηθι τῷ λοιπῷ πατρὶ, the Ovid passage is a model of restraint and sobriety³. Here, too, Philostratus, in the place already referred to, shows that the passage was an inspiration, if not to Greek art, at least to Greek sophistic. Speaking of Cadmus and Harmonia he says: περιβάλλοντι

¹Most of these references come from Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa*, 385, 890, 893, note (Leipzig, Teubner, 1898), and Munro on *Lucretius* 5.993.

²Sandys, who, in his note on *Bacchae* 1.330, quotes these lines, makes matters worse by assuming that the transformation took place, at least in part, on the stage. It is more reasonable to suppose that Cadmus's words were reported in a messenger's speech.

ἀλλήλους, οἷον συνέχοντες τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ σώματος, ὡς ἔκεινα γοῦν αὐτοῦς μὴ φύγοι.

The moral of all this is that, when we find an idea thus deliberately employed and imitated century after century, it is not good criticism merely to condemn it as an instance of bad taste. Rather should one note the facts of ancient times, and then mark how in the centuries that have intervened to modern times taste has changed.

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REVIEW

An Inquiry into the Causes of the Growth and Decay of Civilisation. By Thomas Lloyd. London: The Statist, 1926. Pp. xiv + 850.

The problem of the decline and fall of Rome has always attracted the attention of writers and will continue to do so, if for no other reason than that the ultimate causes are so complex as to give any one an opportunity to propose a new solution. In the case of the book under review, a publicist with a strong interest in political economy looks at contemporary civilization, becomes convinced of its decadence, decides on the reason for that decadence, and then hunts for analogies in the past (514, 526):

It seems perfectly clear to most observers who give time and thought to the subject that the present uncertainty cannot last very long. There is, in fact, a general expectation that a fundamental change—call it what you will, revolution, or reconstruction, or anything else—is coming in the early future.... Having put before my readers what a long and careful study of economics convinces me are the main causes of the prosperity and the decay of nations, I now proceed to test the correctness of my deductions by a brief survey of the history of those nations of antiquity which rose to eminence and have subsequently died out.

Mr. Lloyd has put together a bulky and formidable volume, confident, dogmatic, and polemical in tone, but basically unsound in fact. The style is a sort of extempore journalese: turgid, loose, and repetitious¹. There is enough original material in these eight hundred and fifty solid pages to form a magazine article of about a hundred pages—the rest is mere argument, rehashing of well-worn and outworn theories, and, above all, unending reiteration. One has the impression that the ideas are produced by the author as he writes, rather than by study based on accumulated scholarship, with which, indeed, he displays considerable impatience². This is especially true of the four introductory chapters, which offer, in a highly imaginative form, a mere paraphrase of trite ideas such as are available in manuals of ancient history for High Schools³. He makes constant use of the phrase, “the

¹The volume seems to have been tossed off piecemeal and put together later without revision. The causes of the decline of Rome, for example, are listed and summed up in Chapter 37, but in the next three chapters two entirely new causes are added to the list.

²See, for example, pages 85 and 578. The type of reference may be exemplified by this introductory phrase (505): “It is a remarkable proof of the incompetence of modern classicist teachers....”

³Mr. Lloyd's sources seem to be either popular handbooks or books which he read in his School days. It seems not without significance that he always refers to Schliemann, for instance, as “Dr. Schliemann”, and speaks (e.g. 788) of his work as one would of that of a contemporary. Compare, too, his undue stress on how little we know of ancient history. We have filled in many of the gaps during the past generation.

present dearth of information” as a preface to the statement of his own unauthenticated ideas⁴. Thus, when he is anxious to introduce a theory of his own, he can explain away even so well known a phase of Egyptian culture as religious practice (539):

Religion in Egypt is not very thoroughly understood. There is a great deal of information respecting it. But it will take a considerable time before that information is properly elucidated, and, therefore, understood.

The book has no index, no bibliography, and but two footnotes (both footnotes refer to a previous work of the author).

The first part of the book (*The Origin of Man and of Civilization*, Chapters 1–5, 1–103) develops the idea that civilization is a long process—incidentally, Mr. Lloyd accepts the ‘progress theory’ of mankind in a very literal sense (70), that it is continuous and that it does not die out. Ancient civilization began with the development of settled life and agriculture, probably in Egypt, certainly in the Near East under the superior direction of the Egyptians, and lasted until its disruption by the Indo-Europeans⁵.

The second part (*State Economics*, Chapters 6–28, 104–525) is a long explanation of the principles of modern economics, based upon the author's conviction that, of the three fundamental phases of economic organization, production and distribution have hitherto been unduly stressed at the expense of consumption. The reviewer is not competent to judge these matters (especially since the illustrations are almost exclusively taken from modern English history), but he is able to feel no enthusiasm for the author's “new” theories and for the vigorous attack on his predecessors.

For the student of the ancient world, the most pertinent portion of the book is the third (*The Proofs in History*, Chapters 29–44, 526–839), the search for the secret in antiquity. The touchstone of civilization is inventiveness (531). In the ancient world it flourished best in the clan organization⁶. The replacement of the clan system by autocracy (or democracy) and the consequent decline in inventiveness constitute the fall of civilization. The causes of the fall in Egypt and Mesopotamia are fondness for war (it takes a good deal of argument to explain both the Egyptians and the Assyrians on this score), slavery, forced labor, religiosity (with which the author connects feminism and race suicide), and incompetent leadership. The Persian Empire fell for an astonishingly simple reason—I quote the author's words (592) lest the reader doubt my

⁴E.g. 94, 551–584 (the Persians), 608–610 (the Greeks), 628–630 (the Etruscans), 752–840 (the Romans). There is hardly a single chapter of the twenty-three which deal with ancient history in which this trick is not employed.

⁵His attitude is strongly pro-Egyptian, or, more exactly, anti-Greco-Roman (80): “the Brown, or Brunette, race was immensely superior to both the Aryan and the Semitic races, and respecting the Aryan, remember, we are dealing not with one section of that race, but with as many as three—the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans”. It is a little curious at this late date to find him so bitterly opposed to the Aryans (his very use of this long obsolete term is significant). In the form in which he poses it, the effect of the “Aryan upheaval” on civilization is doubtless incredible, but then nobody in these days would think of putting it in that way except Mr. Lloyd, who knocks down his straw man with great gusto. His own explanation (89–103), by turns wild or obvious, does not deserve criticism here.

⁶This explains, according to one of Mr. Lloyd's opinionative lapses, the prosperity of Egypt (586): “It is perfectly clear that the government of Egypt <i.e. the central government, opposing the decentralizing clans> rarely was efficient”.

paraphrase—, "that the Persians had very little aptitude to learn, very dull wits, and very small ability to take advantage of excellent teaching".

In Greece (of which "there really does not exist, and never has existed, a history" [608]), city-state separation is really clan feeling, and the fall is due to premature democracy (603):

As a matter of fact, all experience shows us⁷ that where the clan system perishes before the members of the clans are prepared for establishing a centralised government, the fall of the clan system is the certain prelude to the fall of the people themselves.

This accounts, simply enough, for Athens. For Sparta the causes are warfare and slavery. But the real reason (627) for the fall of Greece is that "they <= the Greeks> failed to make a single great invention"!

The rise of Rome is due to its cautious foreign policy, the poverty of its soil, the clan system, and the Old Time Religion. The fall was due to "never-ending conquest", imprisonment for debt, slavery, general brutality ("the Romans had extremely little human feeling" [711]), provincial misgovernment, and Oriental religion.

The Celts are summarily dealt with: they failed for want of inventiveness.

The summary of this silly book occupies pages 840-859. In syllogistic form it may be put thus: Major premise: Civilization is nurtured by inventiveness, destroyed by misgovernment, slavery, and war. Minor premise: Man is the master of his fate. Conclusion (858): "There is but one course which alone can assure the welfare of peoples—that is, government of the

people, by the people, for the people". If the reader wants more of this kind of logic, he may go through the book.

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A COMMENT

I venture a remark on a statement in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 23.164, note 14a. It seems that your contributor curiously overlooked the letter of Cicero (*Ad Familiares* 2.11) on which Plutarch's account of the matter under discussion is based. This letter (see § 2) makes it quite clear that Cicero is jesting. Cicero's cleverness in poking fun at Caelius and his insistent demands has always made this one of my favorite letters.

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To use Professor Ullman's own mode of expression, it seems that he himself curiously overlooked the fact that the note to which he refers was written not by a 'contributor' to THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY, but by me. As I edit papers, reviews, etc., I look up a great host of matters contained in the papers, reviews, etc.: witness my remarks, in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 23.2-4, in an article entitled *Editing The Classical Weekly*. But I cannot find the time to look up everything. I wish I could find the time to do just that!! That is the one way to edit, rightly, a periodical. From that point of view, which I hold, in all seriousness, no periodical in the world is rightly edited.

C. K.

⁷This is one of Mr. Lloyd's ways of introducing his pet ideas.